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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON THE NIGHT CHANT AT TUWELCHEDU WHICH CAME TO AN END ON DECEMBER 6, 1920¹

EVEN when a ceremonial has been as thoroughly described as the Night Chant by Washington Matthews, subsequent observations are not without significance as part of the historical record. A brief report, therefore, of a recent *naakhái*, the concluding dance in that nine day ceremony, indicating a few variations from Matthews's account, may be of interest. Of interest also is the relation of the Tewa and Hopi of First Mesa to the Navaho.

Word of the dance was brought to First Mesa by a visiting Navaho family on their way to a "Fire dance" in the west. On November 29, my Tewa host in Sichumovi said that word had been sent to him from Tewa that they were thinking there of going to Tuwelchedu to dance. My host belonged in the Tewa group who danced "Navaho"; he was in fact the dance director. Since during the next few days he had to be away from the mesa his Tewa colleagues finally gave up the idea of going to Tuwelchedu. Had they gone, they would have formed one of the many dance sets assembled from different parts of the country. In other words, these Tewa-Hopi would have constituted an integral part of the Navaho ceremony.

As it was, only a few from First Mesa went to the dance, Tom, the Hopi trader, in his automobile with a load of apples and bottles of a sweet, pink drink, two families in wagons, and a half dozen men on horseback. We made a fire for ourselves, the back part of the wagons serving as box seats, and there was an interchange of food and coffee and Hopi jokes—against the enveloping Navaho a little self-protective circle, a not uncritical circle.

It was of the dancing we were critical. It did not come up to Pueblo Indian standards. "They pay no attention to each other, and they don't know how to step," was the comment of more than one Hopi. One Navaho set was commended as dancing "almost like Zuñi."

To the Hopi ear the songs of each dancer set were different—to me, as to Matthews, they seemed identical or very similar. The Hopi appeared to have scant knowledge of the ritual. My Tewa friend who

¹ Tuwelchedu is about thirty miles southeast of First or East Mesa.

spoke Navaho did not know the names of the war gods or anything about the impersonations except that they were called *hastinu*, old ones, although he thought that the third masked figure in the late afternoon appearance represented, not *hastseoltoi*, but *estsánatlehi* or, as he said, *nale*, man-woman. This interpretation is sometimes held, to be sure, by Navaho laymen, according to Matthews. Incidentally I note that in describing *estsánatlehi* as Changing Woman, Matthews fails to bring out the fact that the change is hermaphroditic; such it is at least in Tewa opinion. The Tewa, by the way, have their own warrior woman, *pohaha*, who, as her mother was wheeling her hair, rushed out to fight, with one side of her head done and the hair of the other side hanging, in the way in which the Zuñi *kolamana* (god, man-woman) is represented.

My Tewa friend displayed ignorance about the ceremonial in other particulars; he thought, for example, that the patient had been cured the previous year. How much of the ceremony of the preceding days he knew about I do not know, but even if he knew about its occurrence, he certainly did not think of it as in itself the curing ceremony. The patient had been cured, he thought, of "a *k'atsina* sickness," i.e., he had tried different doctors and their medicines and the medicine that cured him was *k'atsina* medicine, proving that his sickness had been *k'atsina* sickness, therefore he was having the *k'atsina* ceremony. It would be extremely interesting to learn if this is mere Pueblo interpretation or if there is something to it from the Navaho point of view, information not secured by Matthews. Matthews has little to say, we may note, about the kind of sickness for which the Night Chant is held, or why it is chosen in preference to any other curing ceremonial.

The two main variations in the performance, as I saw it, from the performances described by Matthews were, first, that the brush green-room opened, not to the south, but to the east, and second that the patient sprinkled the First Dancers, not from right to left, but in the usual sunwise direction, from left hand up left arm across chest and down right arm to right hand.

All of the following particulars are indicated by Matthews as characteristic of one performance or another, or are points of very minor detail. The new hogan was circular. . . . Sprinkling of the dancers by the patient, after the sprinkling of the First Dancers, was extremely perfunctory, in fact there was nothing in his tray basket to sprinkle. . . . The dance figure took less than three minutes to execute, the number of repetitions by each set was extremely erratic, from four or five to nine or ten. "Each set will repeat four times and only four times," a Hopi

had persisted in saying to me, until I made him count with me the repetitions of one of the sets—a little illustration of how the Pueblo Indian is ever given to standardizing.

No observer of Pueblo Indian dances could have failed to be critical, not merely of the dancing, but of the costuming in this dance. The Zuñi or Hopi sense of style was lacking. One set of dancers impersonating the male *yeyi* wore flesh-colored flannels. In some cases a kerchief took the place of the pendent fox skin. Impersonators of the female *yeyi* were mostly dressed in shirt and trousers. In some cases a woman's skirt was worn over the trousers; in some cases the impersonator was nude and kilted, like the male impersonation. A kilted female impersonation dancing next to a be-skirted impersonation went far to detract from the uniformity of design which appears to be essential, in the Pueblo view, as in our view, to a handsome appearance.

The beard or fringe of the mask of the female impersonations was made of strings of jet, a row of abalone-shell fragments giving the finish where the fringe was fastened to the mask.

While the dance paint is on, a Navaho dancer, like a Zuñi dancer, must remain continent; but the Pueblo Indian is more careful, I think, in washing off his dance paint. The morning after the dance at Tuwelchedu the dancers could be recognized by the traces of white paint still on their hands or wrists.

The dancers may have been short on water, to be sure, although the place where we were congregated was possessed, as you might expect, of a spring, a spring belonging to Hastin Nes, step-father of the patient.

Hastin Nes was said by the Hopi to be a *kiaani* clansman, his wife, the mother of the patient, a Tobacco-Rabbit (*k'achin*) clanswoman, and a Hopi woman. The Tobacco-Rabbit clan of First Mesa was described in this connection as having other Navaho affiliations. Tapulu, the legendary village chief who is said to have called in men of Oraibi and Walpi to destroy his town, Awatobi, was a Tobacco clansman. Of the attack, Tapulu had warned his clanspeople, the story runs,¹ and they left their mesa to scatter among the Navaho to the east, i.e., in the direction of Tuwelchedu where "they became Navaho." Later some of these Awatobi-Navaho Tobacco people went to First Mesa. Together with the interesting fact of intertribal marriage appears in this connec-

¹ Between this story and Hopi folk tales there is little or no difference. I attach little or no historical significance to the story of Tapulu. The history of the relations between the Hopi of First Mesa and quite probably of Awatobi and the Navaho is undoubtedly far more complicated than the origin stories of clan and ceremonial indicate.

tion another fact of interest, but not of course a novel fact, namely that the Hopi carry their fondness for equating clans even into the clan system of the Navaho. This equation of the so-called Navaho Rabbit clan¹ and the Hopi Tobacco clan may be the source of the Tobacco-Rabbit clan classification that has puzzled observers.²

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NOTES BY G. COMER ON THE NATIVES OF THE NORTHWESTERN
SHORES OF HUDSON BAY

The Southampton Island Eskimo.—These numbered 58 all told in 1899, inhabiting the southwestern shore from the Bay of God's Mercy to the southern end. That summer the steamer *Active* built a whaling station on the island and brought over one hundred natives from other parts of the coast to work for it. Three white men were also there for the greater part of the time. This occupancy proved fatal to the Southampton Islanders of whom, by the spring of 1903, only one woman and four small children were left. These were transferred to Repulse Bay by the *Active* along with the other Eskimo, when the station was removed to that point. Later the woman died, leaving at the time of writing (1907-9) only the four children—one boy and three girls—out of what, judging by the old dwellings, must formerly have been a considerable tribe. The children were adopted by Eskimo of the Aivilik tribe.

Burial Customs of the Southampton Islanders.—The body seems to have been laid head toward the east, with a wall of stones around it and a flat stone on top. Several of the implements which the deceased had formerly used were laid under a stone near the head of the grave and near by was another stone on which the mourners would sit while they talked to him. A man whom I knew, Kum-er-kaw-yer [Kama Kauyaa] by name, requested that, when he died, he should be buried in the ground-ice so that when the ice broke up and went out to sea he would go out with it; then his spirit would be able to look out for and protect his people when they were out on the ice or in their kayaks. Afterward those who

¹ In Matthews's list of Navaho clans ("Navaho Legends," *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Society*, v, 29-31, 1897) I find neither Rabbit nor *k'achin* included. The other clan mentioned in my notes, *kiaani*, is perhaps identifiable with Matthews's *kinaá'ni*, High Standing (or Stone) House, a group said in the legends to live near such a house.

² See Kroeber, A. L., "Zuñi Kin and Clan," p. 144, *Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. XVIII, Pt. II, 1917. The suggestion of Navaho provenience is supported by the fact that the classification occurs only among the Hopi. (This clan is extinct at Zuñi, and therefore the question so far as that Pueblo is concerned is doubtful.)